[For folklore texts, see category 116, pp. 186-187, 194-243, and 249-312 of the translation. In some instances where lengthy native texts occur they have not been reproduced in the translation. In these cases, consult the indicated pages of the foreign text, category 116 for the original native texts. --Analyst]

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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsui //goaose!	Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Aba ǂoa,	Father of our Fathers,
Xoba ǂoa!	Our Father!
//Nanoba ǂaoba,	Let stream the thunder cloud,
Ba ǂnana tiro,	Let our flocks live,
Xoba aiba tiro;	Let us also live, please;
//Khahoro gaon gaoxa	I am so very weak
//Gio nun,	From thirst,
Ao nun;	From hunger;
Ba ǂnanoa ǂnana,	Let me see field fruits,
Sore gaon nuna aiba ǂnana,	Art thou not our Father,
Aba ǂoa,	Father of our Fathers
Tsui //goaose!	Thou Tsui //Goab!
Xoba aiba gaogaoxaiba,	That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based entirely on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, 3, No. 2 (June, 1929), pp. 3–13; cf. idem, "Social Organization of the Nama," 81–2, and "Social Values of Water among the Nama," 319–26.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Ede ake //khawa /khaixire,	That we may bless thee,
Abe ise,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida /khawa,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsui //goaxa!	Thou, Tsui //Goab!

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goaxa,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can feed children."

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abeb*, father, and */khaib*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Namab*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurib*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Namab*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thihhou* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourou* (*/Gurib*).[3] The cloud */Namab* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 6. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 389; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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let rain"[1]; while "if a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, and the lightnings disperse the darkness", the people assemble for a *!gei*, a religious dance, and, while dancing, sing the following[2]:—

!Goreb ts /Gaes	The Hymn of the Thunder
!Nenumutsi!	Son of the Thundercloud!
!Gori-khai, !Gurutsi!	Thou brave, loud-speaking !Guru!
ǂOase gubare,	Talk softly, please,
!Horeb t'ase n-kâ-aoxase;	For I have no guilt;
!Ubatsa	Let me alone! (Forgive me!)
ǂOasaga xaiga.	For I have become quite weak.
!Gurutsi!	Thou, O !Guru!
!Nenusi aose!	Son of the Thundercloud!

This may be compared with a statement made by Valentijn, who touched at the Cape in 1705. He speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrou* (i.e. */Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui //Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us."[3] Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord [*/Khaib*, i.e. *Tsui //Goab*] is speaking; he is scolding them."[4]

Another quotation throws further light upon the conception of *Tsui //Goab*. Alexander states that the Hottentots of the Kuiseb River in South-West Africa had to make an offering to *Tusib* before they could drink water with safety.[5] Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. "Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery, and said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease, and he said that it was from having dug for water at a place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib River, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him, what he meant by saying that he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narus, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman[6] with white hair, and who can do

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 129-30. [2] Ibid., 59-60. [3] Leo, 181.
[4] Op. cit., 50-1. [5] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 105.
[6] "Redman," *!aon-khaib*, is another name used for themselves by the Namas, in distinction to the negroes, whom they call *!aon-khaib*, "black men," and the Europeans or "white men" *!aon-khaib*.

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(iii) *From Matiti and Tetsh.*

ǂgarib ra ǂkhje doe o, ǂkhje ŋ!aru: !garib !kû ha o, ǂkhje hai !haraha ha:, ǂkhje !ari !kû a haa, ǂkhje ŋ!khaap !aa mâsi !haaxa, ǂkhje ||na:ha xa Taungs !aa ha:, ǂaa ||na:ha Brikwa ||gobe:, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra ||khagu |hani, ǂkhje ||na:ha Brikwa !han ||hoie, ǂkhje Tetsh ||na:ha !kamm, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra Mamuuha !haa doe, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra |aru khaxhaa |hai !garib !haa doe.

ǂkhje haku hje ha, !kandi ha:ha mâe |hai !garib !aa, ǂkhje ŋ!am ŋ!annie, Mamuuha !haa, ǂkhje Kurutani (Moolfontein) ||na:ha doe ha, ŋ!anŋap, Tetsh di ||namah, ||omhje ||na:ha.

ǂkhje na:ha ||naha ha: ha onbi, ǂkhje na:ha !haraa, ǂkhje daob ||kha ||kaha, ǂkhje na:ha |ham |ho:dlab !hamma, ǂkhje |ari khaxb Mamuuha !haa ste, ǂkhje ||na:ha ra khaxhaa ŋ!anaa |haaxe, ǂha haku ha o, ha: na:ha ha ha i a, ǂkhje na:ha ||khagu khaxhaa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamuuw and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamuuw. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (*i.e.* Moolfontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). ŋ!Uanap, the ancestor of *Tetsh*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamuuw and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Tetsh*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

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B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The *daro*, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Taboh*, December 1931.

ka!oa ǂna ka!omkàǂ ǂkarab ǂna ǂkoǂkoa. ǂna gomab ŋǂakoa. ǂnaib ŋǂnakoa ŋǂgaoa ǂna, ǂe ŋǂgaoaǂ ŋǂkkâba oa dia a.

ŋǂam nâkaǂ ta khaokoa xaoa akoiboa.

ǂe ka!a ǂnaoa ǂkae, ǂna ŋǂgr:ǂe, ǂna ae: ǂna ǂnaiboa ǂkl:e ǂnâa ǂna. ǂna " ka-a " ǂi aâ. ǂxaoa ka a, ǂka ta ŋǂgr:ǂe a, ǂka ǂnâa.

ǂap gǂaib nâa, gaoaoa/ ǂkoa.

ǂna ǂkaaib nâa:

ta:e aaoab dao ao ǂaab ǂna ka ǂnâa.

ǂka ge:ao:koa ǂkaiga ǂaioa ge:ao:b aâ a, ta:e ǂgaba ŋǂaib ao. a a:ka ǂkkâba. ǂna ǂkkâ gai khaokoa ǂgaba ŋǂaiǂ.

ǂka ao:b ǂaib ǂaaba: ka, a:ka ǂkaâba ǂkoa, ǂi ǂkâ khaob (ao: ŋǂkkâ) ka ka: ki ǂkkâba ǂna.

ǂkae ŋǂâ ao.

ǂna ao:b ta dia a, ǂkaba ǂkaaib ǂna a: ŋǂka:ŋ.

ǂka ǂkae ŋǂâ a, ǂna ǂnaba ǂa:.

ǂka ka!aaoa xa ŋǂkkia a, ǂna koaoe, ǂaba ŋǂgaoaoe ǂxaoa kaoiao. ǂna ǂkao:e ka ao. ǂka ǂkao: a, ǂ ka!aaoa. ǂka ǂkao: ǂl a, ǂkaba ǂkaaib ǂna a: ŋǂka:ŋ.

Translation:

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is poured for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Sticks are struck together in their ear and they say " ka-a." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an assegai (knife), together with a kiri.

Then they are given instruction :

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its feet.

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Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its feet.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instructions.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*dawe*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[17] *Note :* Matiti, the other informant added : */kâmu ha /hê o, ôje dawe daroki,* " since the white men (the English) have come, the *dawe* has ceased."

When this version was named, by getting Matiti to relate his facts, he only added : (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted : (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabak*, February 1932.

dawe ha ha o: qʰêki. ǂan ǂaiki kai khaokua ha ha ǂan gomore /kuo /hê /kuo. ǂan gaeama/ thi gʰêk thikka tsâi.

ǂan ǂkaoab tsâi:

ta-o ǂaob ǂan ha-no ao ǂkhâo aoaob khoe.
ta-o ǂkai qʰê.
ta-o ǂaob ǂan ha: ǂaiua ǂkiro tsâi o.
ta-o ǂgaba qʰêib. a o ha ǂkhâo ǂkuo.
ǂka goi khaokua ǂgaba qʰêiq.
ǂkiro ǂaob ǂan ǂgaba qʰêib o, ǂka ǂkuo, ǂan ǂkaba o: qʰêki.
ǂan ga-no di ǂaob kʰ'aoio, ǂan qʰêga-ia, ǂan ao,
ǂan ǂaihua ǂka o ǂaba ǂan. ǂaoxa ha o, ǂka qʰêga-ia kuta o, ǂaba.
ǂan aoxa haoiua ǂaba o: ǂkaokhâo. (ǂgare, ǂka aoxha ha: o, kʰ'aoxa.
ǂka ha: ǂaoxa ha o, ǂka ǂkaba o: qʰêka ti.

Translation :

He is taken into the *dawe*. Old men look after him. When they go and count the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a little stad on manger (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

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If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

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The *daro* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-285, Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Naman*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

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It is the first time that the full *daro* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuana and the Mootlong nations; but when a boy comes upon a state of manhood, a feast called Daroo is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two material points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk,

(b) the "*daro*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (1) "the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (3) the "laws" given to him.

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88/ *Tabaḃ* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *daro ǂne ǁgurihne ka tama*, " in the *daro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabaḃ*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *ǂkaːxi*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *daro*. The " laws " given by Wurm are slightly different and not so full.

197 The *daro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taaiboch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *ǁgaːn ǁkaaḃ* ceremony.

88/ 304 *ǂne ǂkʰa xamí kkʰamma ǂkʰaxa o, ǂne ǁxaaaḃ ni ǁxar, ǂne gomaxe ǂkʰar, ǁgurihne mǁai ǁkkʰ: kxʰ²ai ǁxaaaḃ.*

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabaḃ explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teaḃ* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *daro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *ǂnam* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *daro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabaḃ* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wurm (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *ǁgunisa*. He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *ǁkaḃaḃ*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

88/ 534 *ǁkaeb ta ka o, ǁkoːx di ǁkaḃaḃ, ǂne ǁkaaḃ dikar, ǂne ǁkarake mǁai ǂkʰar, ǂne ǁkoma mǁai kxʰ²am ǁǂab dikar, ǂne ǁnaa ǂkʰaa, ǂnkʰaa gaise ǁgaka*

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tama, ǂ ǁkaoxe tama, ona ŋǂkhoa: ta ŋ, ǁkoa ma kxʰam ǁaka ŋǂkhoa ta, ona gai khaoxe ǁnai.

ska ta ŋ, ska ŋǂa khoa taa ŋ, ona ǂkhab ga:b mā, ona ga:b ŋǂai, ona a:b ǂna ǂnaxakaoxe, ona ŋǂgoaxe ǂna naba dia ǂnaki, ona gai khaoxe skhie, ona gai mā ona kaba, ona ǁkhoe di ǂkarab a:ŋ, ona ǂkarab ǁkoa ŋǂkaoxe, ǁnaib ǁkoa ona arse, ona are taxa sta ŋ, ona ǁnaiba ŋǂkaoxe, ona ǂnaxaba ǁkaiba ǁkaiba, ona skiba skāoxe.

ona ga:b ta skhie ŋ, ona ǂnaxoa koixe khaoxā ŋǂkie, ona ǂkā:b ǁkoa, ǂkabā tai ŋǂnaoxoa ǂnaiba aoxe, ona ǂnaxā ǁka:ŋ.

ona gai khaoxā koa ǂnaoxe ǂkaa ǂka tai xoa ǂnaiba ǂnaiba, ona xoa ǂkaoxe.

ona ǂgaiba a: ŋǂkaa, ǂ oxai ǂkaia a ǂka; ona ka ǂnaixa ŋ, ona ŋǂgoaŋ a:ŋ, ona ŋǂgoaba ka ka ǂkaroa tai ŋǂgoaǂkaaba a ka kxʰai ǂkaroa, ona ǁna ka ǁgoaxoa kxʰam ǂna naba, ǁkoaba kxʰai naba, ona ka: ǂnaixa ŋǂnaoxoa, ona kxʰai naxia.

ona ǁǁ khāba ǂkoa ǂkā, ona gai khaoxā ǁnaoa, ona ǁoa, ona ŋǂna:.

Translation:

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is put in. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep.[5] The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old women eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sāb* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman touches (with her) everything and the grindstone also and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick. When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to kneel on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick. She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the mat. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

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Note: Henceforth, explained *Ju* and *Moir*, she ceased to be a *//hoa* and became an outsider, until her marriage when she became a *tama* or wife. *Ju* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wurm (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Haeckl (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ubb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khoin* brought me some and she and *Ju* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) *//kaep*; (ii) *//oi ubb*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *//kaeb*, "veld biscuits," roots only; (iv) *//ha //ubb*; (v) *//gnaubeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the *//kaubeb* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*//ghi kam*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty cows, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *qhaiab* and dancing. The *ubo gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a *kaoa //ho ma gomab*, "an ox for the newborn children" was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *kaoa //ho ma gomas*.

The life history of *Ju*

gai //kaub kaeb kaa Ju hja //khaub kaⁿai kaoa ka. dija //kaub kaoa kaⁿamima !gu kaⁿai. //aa: //kaa, kaⁿamima //karukoa ca dia ka. dija //karukoa //dib ca dia, dija tarukkhaudi !gaeb kaa //dikoa di //aa //aa.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Translation :

Ie was born at Saron (*Mouk*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note :

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See " History of the Links tribe."). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes : " On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow " (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ie* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tsaub* and *Khoi*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gammaih te /nawe a, /nu /kobab /nawe-/nu /khaib dibe, /nu /aibbe /nawe, /nu /kurub /aibbe, /nu /kha: //o b qʰammi na nammi, /nu //ne /ne //gaisin, /nu /nai /kurubu /kha kaʰammu, /nu /ha /ne /nawe.

Translation :

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note :

My informants were *Tsaub* and *Ie*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tsaub* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tsaub* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 506

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then, the informants

[See H: Kuhn, cat. 764 and plate 4. -Analyst]

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that older person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not as full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The Nama family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Haeseler (the Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some difference in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kara, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Linke Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tarakhoesib se ke hare !khare tki kuib tkikhe khare !hare. !Hare ke ke kje se tki, hare kari !hare kxhoe ke, amb kxhai !nkhakhare se kare !hare.s. !khaesib kxhaqnakhare se tsikakhaesib dikse, gaisa khaekare tkje dikse. !gare kakare tkje ti kare, se hare kakje di hare.

Translation :

The women dig for " sinkjes " with the hand-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

412 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note:

412 This text was given, on *Tabaé*, *Tatsé* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word */Maru* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kierri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kierri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the kierri gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekte des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. */Kasi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*qʰaua*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411 *Ha:ǂ ua:hua ǂi /hua. ehje /haruhua /ha:ǂ ǂi /hua tama. ehje /ha:hua*
531 *ge: /ha:ǂi /hua /haruhehua Mama /horo ha. ehje /|hikkʰaxahua tarab*
hu gei /ha:ǂi ehi qʰa:hua thihua qʰaua. ehje /hamiʔua, /ha:ǂi ehi gaahua
thihua aaraqui hui /ka:x. ehje glab /hua /haiua.

Translation:

[105] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The
[228] young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springbuck and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants: *Dyuli*, *Matini* and *Khoe*.

[111] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke natien langs deese rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133).

PASTIMES

The making of the *!gue !haráb* (honey beer)

damára n: ǂáb-i.

//ubáb ǂna !háb-i, ǂna [illegible] */háb-i, ǂna //harus, ǂna thamma !hanib ab n.v. ǂna damis !hana ǂgoba.*

ǂna !hamma //gammi ha ǂna ǂkamma. ǂna o !go ha²ais. ǂna !kú !háb-i.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *//ubáb* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey.

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

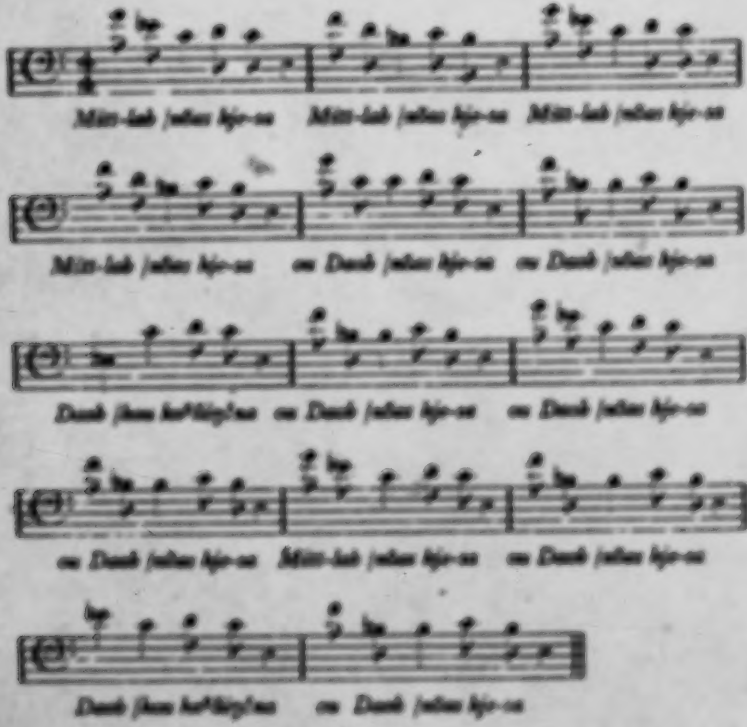
Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels*." II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-aartel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " drugs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *hoop* or " haerwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabak*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *//ubáb* was described by *Tabak* as " 'n woord met rooi blaarwerkjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places.

Games

(i) The *!hara*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 124 115 edited them for me. I am responsible for the adjustment of the Korana texts to the melodies. It is interesting to point out that old Daob at first was unwilling to sing because he had no other singers to sing with him. His voice was high in pitch, and in spite of his great age (he was well over a hundred) his intonation was excellent and clear-cut.

533 539 Ex. 3. *Mintlab /oodu hjaoa*

♩=132.
Mint-lab /oduu hjo-oa Mint-lab /oduu hjo-oa Mint-lab /oduu hjo-oa
Mint-lab /oduu hjo-oa oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa
Daob /kaa ka'khiy'kaa oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa
oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa Mint-lab /oduu hjo-oa oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa
Daob /kaa ka'khiy'kaa oa Daob /oduu hjo-oa

This song is descriptive of a quarrel between Daob and another man named Mintlab over the ownership of a cow. Translated, the words mean

Mintlab! It is his cow!
Mintlab! It is his cow!
Old Daob! It is his cow!
Daob! You have a beard all over your face!

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Koyana

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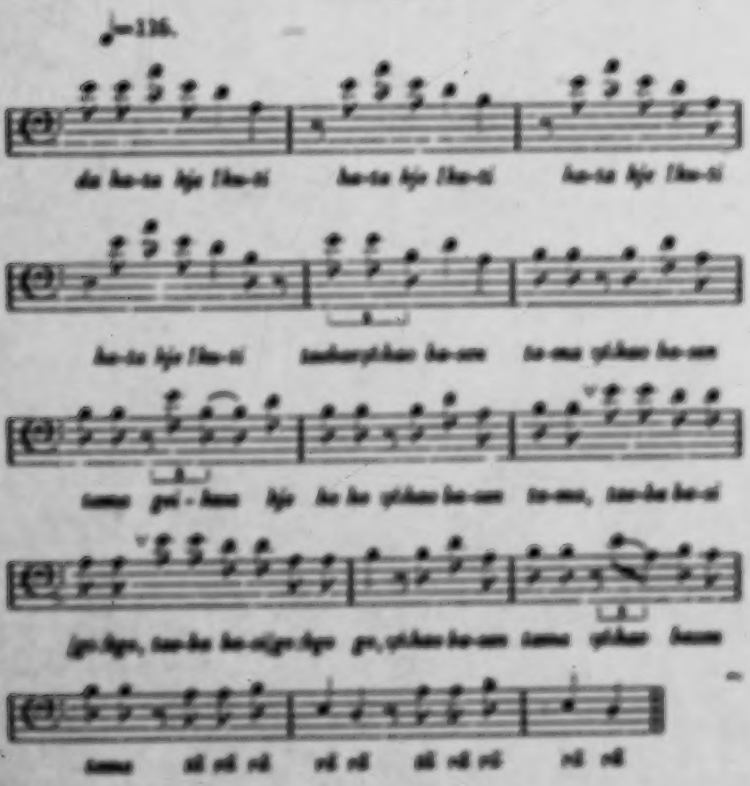
The rivals have each claimed the animal, but Daob, the more astute of the two, has gone off with it, whereupon Mittlab calls him an old baboon. The song is in dialogue form, and it is interesting to note how one form of the melodic phrase is used almost always to indicate Mittlab, and a different one for Daob. The formation of the melody upon the two triads, which was unmistakeable, is also significant.

Ex. 4. *da hatta hje !hatte*



This is the beginning of a song called *Ganuia* (a man's name). Translated, the words mean,

Where shall we find Kuri ! (brother of *Ganuia*)
Why don't you search the boy yourself !
The old people have got hold of him.
Why has the boy got the better of you !

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Kotaro

198 P. S. KIRBY—

533 No. 5. el ti-ni el

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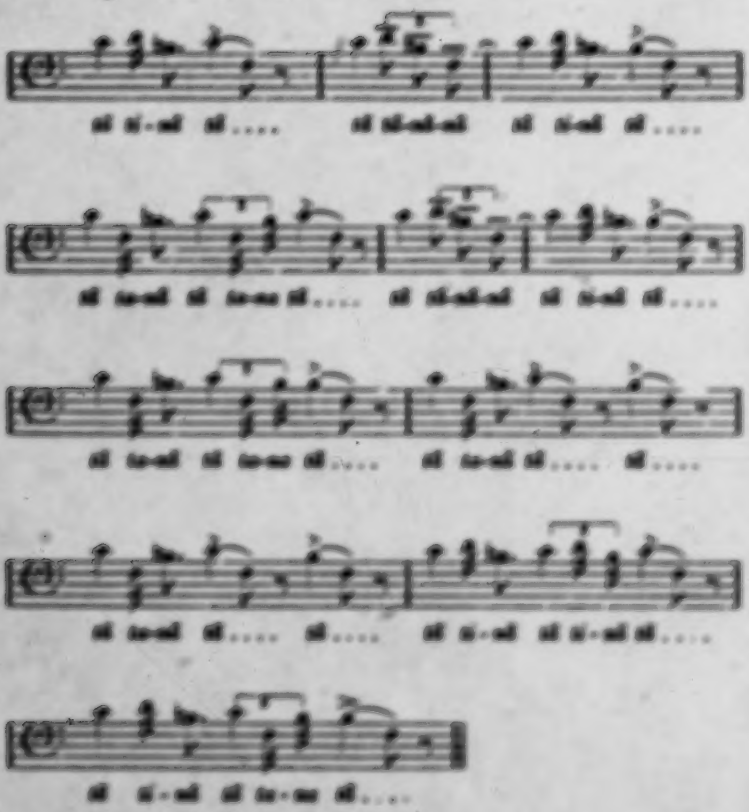
♩=100

el ti-ni el.... el ti-ni-ni el ti-ni el....
el ti-ni el ta-ma el.... el ti-ni-ni el ti-ni el....
el ti-ni el ta-ma el.... el ti-ni el.... el....
el ti-ni el.... el.... el ti-ni el ti-ni el....
el ti-ni el ta-ma el....

The syllables of this song are meaningless; they do merely syllabize comparable to the tra-la-la of English song. The position of this and the following three songs is curious. Old Dash was asked to sing the sounds of the end-flutes. This must have been, to him, an unusual request. However, when he realized that we wished to hear the sound of the first flute, of the 1st kit, he began to sing this melody, which I made him repeat, and which I recorded. The notation represents adequately what Dash sang; the evening hurrying in the fourth, seventh, tenth and eleventh bars is characteristic. The bar-lines have been introduced to indicate the phrasing.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Kgrama

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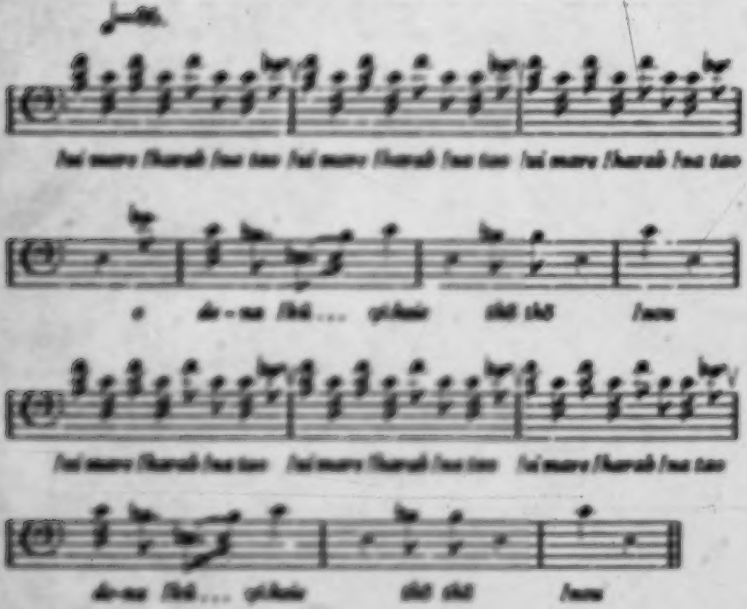
Ex. 6. *Iai mare Ikarakhoa tao*

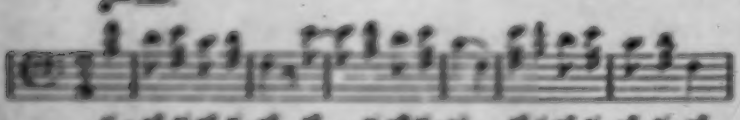

Iai mare Ikarab hoa tao Iai mare Ikarab hoa tao Iai mare Ikarab hoa tao
o do-ma Ikk... qi khoie ckk ckk Ixoa
Iai mare Ikarab hoa tao Iai mare Ikarab hoa tao Iai mare Ikarab hoa tao
do-ma Ikk... qi khoie ckk ckk Ixoa

This song was sung by Dash when asked for the sound of the second flute, *hamis*. Translated, the words mean

> When the cows are in the kraal in the evening,
> They come inside *
> (*The meaning of the remainder of the words is not clear.)

This, said Dash, was the beginning of a war-song. I am not absolutely certain that the words should be fitted to the melody exactly as shown. Dash's singing in this instance was rather faint, and the phonogram suffered accordingly.

Ex. 7. *ai ai ai*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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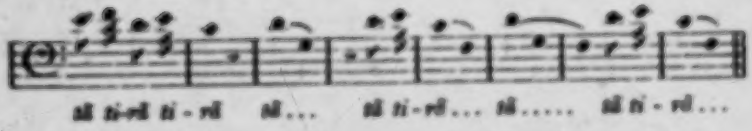
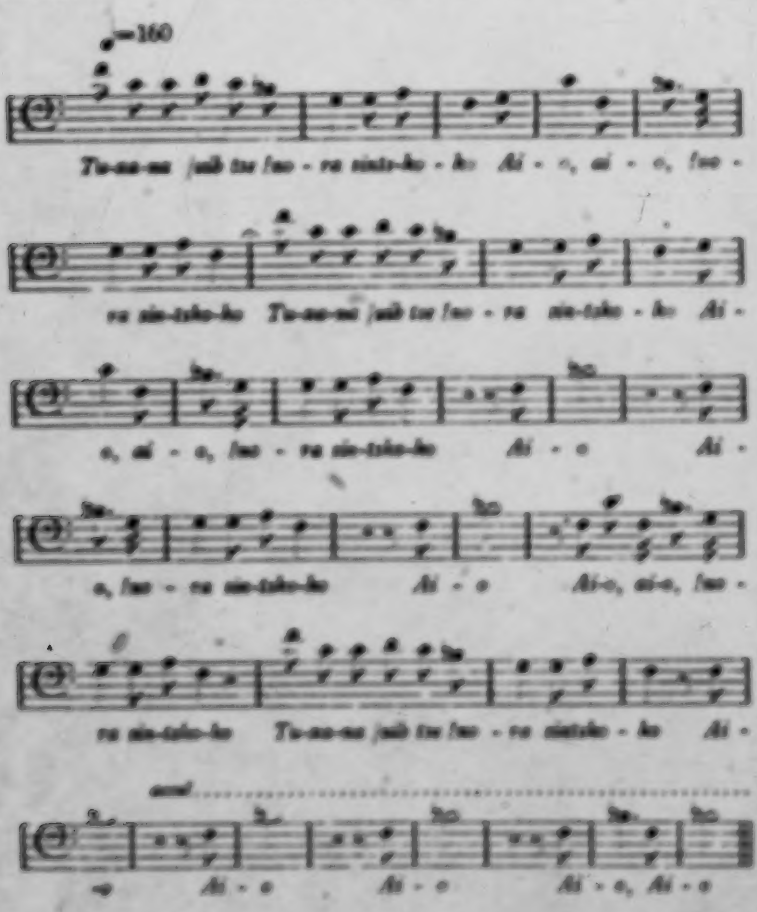


This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the third flute, *gwiyta:n*. The syllables mean nothing.

Ex. 8. *Tuuma /uā tu /uru ui:tsko*


♩=160
Tu-uu-uu /uā tu /uu - ru ui:ts-ko - ko Ai - o, ai - o, /uu -
ru ui:-tsko-ko Tu-uu-uu /uā tu /uu - ru ui:-tsko - ko Ai -
o, ai - o, /uu - ru ui:-tsko-ko Ai - o Ai -
o, /uu - ru ui:-tsko-ko Ai - o Ai-o, ai-o, /uu -
ru ui:-tsko-ko Tu-uu-uu /uā tu /uu - ru ui:tsko - ko Ai -
end
-o Ai - o Ai - o Ai - o, Ai - o

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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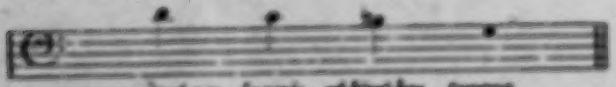
This song was sung by Daob when asked for the sound of the fourth pipe *tsaoxa*. Translated, the words mean

> Tuxana, have you rolled down the stone?
> Have you rolled down the stone?
> Ai-o, Ai-o!

I was unable to discover from the Korana the actual connection between these songs and the flutes, particularly as I could not obtain the tuning of the flutes themselves. This I hope to do later, and meantime would suggest that there is a possibility that these tunes served as a series of mnemonics whereby the skilled musicians of the Korana people might tune their reed-flutes; for the nature of the Korana instruments is such that no permanent pitch standards could be maintained, unless their whole musical system were based upon the harmonic series, apparent to them in all their stringed instruments. 533

But an examination of the four tunes associated by Daob with the reed-flutes yields the following significant information. In Tune III, *ai ti-ai ai*, the note which is heard most frequently is B flat, and it is also consistently emphasised; in Tune IV, *hai mare /kurab /ao tao*, the note C is similarly prominent; while in Tune V, *ti-ra ti-ra ti-ra*, the outstanding note is D. Again, in Tune VI, *Tuxana, /aib tse /aoxa nietskoba*, the note most frequently sounded is G. Assuming that these notes represent the sounds of the four principal reed-flutes, we arrive at the following fragmentary scale.

Ex. 9.



gaipp'a.n /aamis qkhoip'ha tsaoxa

of which the first note *gaipp'a.n* is sounded by the flute of the leading musician. A comparison of this scale with the Nama reed-flute scale quoted by Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 375 e. seq.) shows that a similar sequence of notes is present, although it does not begin with the principal reed-flute, *aib*, but with the next lowest flute.

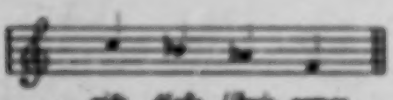
Ex. 10.

Gqoa gomas /aeab /khib

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the *Jouw gounab* ska or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.

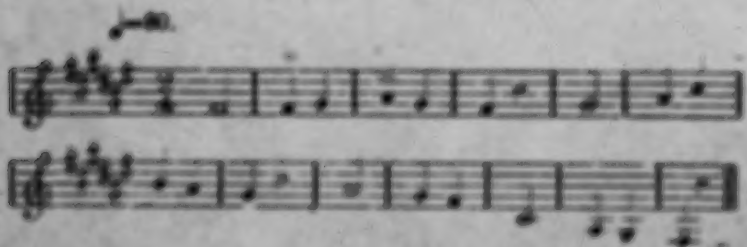


ooáh d'gûh ||hoá gomm

As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, as "musical" was the speech of certain of the Koranas, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

533 In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana 177 women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, 534 was sung by Gonie and Kois. European influence is apparent in this [115] song.

Ex. 12. *hoáh ||ooáh*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

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The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

kuda ||aba ke: hurusa mis,

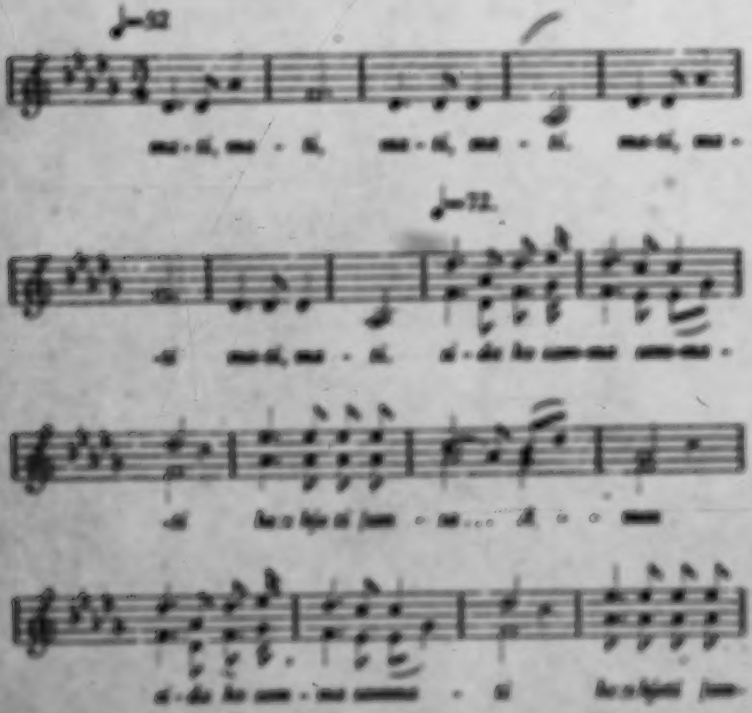
which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Dash, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Ia and Kwakwaris.

[115]

No. 13.



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Kovana

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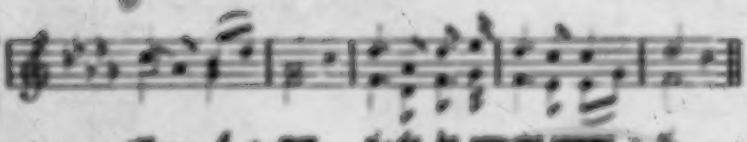
534
177



The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me!
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustean bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Koranna, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *thaetse qhaua* and low sounds *kei dama qhaua*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is *qhaua qhaua*, and a chorus of men and women is called *ha: qhaua kehwa*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the dove ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called *thaua dandaua*; but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *kaqqhaua*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Koranna.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χoma! My lioness! 542

!Gaiǂâsa ǂaets! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee!

Gomaa ke tsuni !gwi !nuat!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

!Gaǂi-ǂkhatsu! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χoma! My lioness.

Gei khoiti ǂaa! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [540]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χoma*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still taken, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (!garu-ti) and of bending poles 174
(!hana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (!hoe-ti), and wooden dishes (koreti), and wooden basins and bowls (e-χu-ti or !gabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [175]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap
(pot *ǂa-s*, to boil, to cook *ǂâi*).

14-Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

773 amongst the Namaqua, I took much trouble to add to these fragments. Of what I found I shall give the most important instances as condensed as possible.

Tsûi-ǂgoab.

776 This name is also pronounced Tsu-ǂgoab; this form, however, is the most worn off. Tsû-ǂgoab, Tsûi-ǂgoab, and Tsuni-ǂgoab in Namaqua; and Tsû-ǂgoam, Tsûi-ǂgoam, Tsûi-ǂkhoeb and Tsûi-ǂgoab amongst the ǂKora, are forms which have preserved more the original feature of the name. This Tsu-ǂgoab is still invoked almost in the same words as George Schmidt heard it at Baviaans Kloof in 1737. The following hymn is still sung among
583 the ǂNuni-‡aun in the ǂKharas Mountains, amongst the ǂKhoiben or so-called Veldschoendragers (sandal-wearers) in the North-east ǂKharas, and by the Gei-ǂKhous, ǁO-gois, and the ‡Aunin of the ǂKhomab Mountains East of Sandwich harbour. At the time when the
[23] 589 Pleiades first appear above the eastern horizon the people gather for a ǂgei—*i.e.*, a religious dance—and sing the following:—

583 "*Tsûi-ǂgoaba!*
589 Thou, oh Tsûi-ǂgoa!
Aba-tsu!
Thou Father of the Fathers—*i.e.*, All Father!
Sida tsu!
Thou our Father!
ǂNoaba gorire!
Let stream—*i.e.*, let rain—the thunder cloud:
Ba [illegible]
Let please live (our) flocks!
ǂida sida tsu!
Let us (also) live please!
‡Khaiseb gom gom!
I am so very weak indeed!
ǁGâs gu!
From thine!

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hermann FX13

ǂAe ǂgu ! 533
From hunger ! 534
ǂîn "ǂgurisa ao-re !
That I may eat field fruits !
Sats gum ǂgare sida tama !
Art thou then not our Father ?
Aba tama !
The father of the fathers !
Tsûi-ǂgoatsu !
Thou Tsûi-ǂgoa !
ǂîn sida gaogaotsire !
That we may praise thee !
ǂîn sida ǂkhoen ǂkhaitsire !
That we may give thee in return (that is, that we may bless thee).
Aba-tsu !
Thou father of the fathers !
Sida ǂKhaitsu !
Thou our Lord !
Nai-ǂgoatsu !
Thou, oh, Tsûi-ǂgoa !

If a heavy thunderstorm is approaching, and the country is resounding from the roaring of the thunder, 535 and the lightnings disperse the darkness, they also assemble for a ǂgoi, and, while dancing, sing the following :—

ǂGurub di ǂGoa.

The Hymn of the Thunder.

ǂNamatse !
Son of the Thundercloud !
ǂGuri-khoi, ǂGurutse !
Thou brave, loud-speaking ǂGuru !
ǂOka gakare !
Talk softly please !
Hare ǂgu ao-kâ-tsuaî !
For I have no guilt !
ǂGaisen !

14.Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Humanum FX13

533 Leave me alone! (Forgive me!)
534 ‡Gôtago xoiqe!
For I have become quite weak—i.e., I am quite stunned, I am quite perplexed.
‖Gurutu!
Thou, oh ‖Gora!
‖Nowes tatse!
Son of the Thundercloud!

[535] Another song-dance I saw performed in the following manner:—There was a solo, sung by a person who played the part of the lightning; the other part being represented by the inhabitants of a kraal, of whom a member was supposed to have been killed by the lightning.

‖Nabas di ‖gois.
The dance-song of the Lightning.

Chorus: ‖Aibe ‖hoaris ‖nowes!
Thou Thundercloud's daughter daughter-in-law of the Fire.
Ti ‖gôbe go ‖gowes!
Thou who hast killed my brother!
‖Gotaes gowe di tse ‖gowe!
Therefore thou liest now so nicely in a hole!

Solo: ‖Gôise te go se ‖gôbe a ‖gowe.
(Yes), indeed I have killed thy brother so well:

Chorus: ‖Gôbese gowe di tse ‖gowe.
(Well) therefore thou liest (now) in a hole.
"‡Gorab ‖khami go ‖nowes.
Thou who hast painted thy body red, like ‡Gora!
"*Sise-‖gobe* ‡*naibe tawose!*
Thou who dost not drop the "mawos."
"‡*Ei*χ‖*gôbetsaobeb sose!*
Thou wife of the Copper-bodied man!

773 An old ‖Hahoba-Nama, by the name of ‡Kxarib, who had great-great-children, and told me that he had big grown-up children when the Mission Station, Warmbad,